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Europe Rocks on Brink of New World War

Dillon to Pack Convention of Auto Workers

Faker 'Somewhere in the West' Organizing Sky Blue Locals

By BURKE COCHRAN
TOLEDO, Ohio, Aug. 19.—Dillon and Co. are girding their loins for the convention of the automobile workers to be held in Detroit, Aug. 26-31. The usually quiet office of Dillon at the Hoffman Building is bustling with activity. Dillon himself is reported to be "somewhere in the middle west." We are informed he will visit Cincinnati, various points in Wisconsin and also St. Louis.

The pleasant news is also released that in the last few weeks the American Federation of Labor has granted charters to two "large" locals in Detroit, while a third "large" local has applied for a charter and will receive one in time to participate in the convention. This spirited campaign of organization has not been confined to Detroit alone. Several cities in Wisconsin, in South Bend, Richmond, Ind., Waukegan, Ill., Cleveland, Ohio, Grand Rapids, Mich., Birmingham, Ala., etc. etc. have had new locals formed recently.

Toledo, because of the successful battles waged at Auto-Lite and the Chevrolet plants, has developed a comparatively strong and large progressive group, out to challenge the rotten "leadership" of Dillon. Toledo has therefore become in a certain sense the beacon light for the automobile workers throughout the country. Therefore the Toledo progressives had to be kept out of Detroit at all costs. Therefore even the discredited former business agent of the Toledo federal local 1894 was used by the executive board to put through a motion to have convention delegates hand-picked by the executive board. The president of the union refuses to allow any democratic discussion on the floor; all motions are ruled out of order; the convention call is not even read and twenty cops are stationed at the entrance of the union hall to terrorize the membership and to prevent any distribution of the progressive program.

The Flint Buick local, it will be recalled, wanted to strike in solidarity with Toledo, during the Chevrolet strike. Dillon had a pretty hard time keeping them out of the fight. It was rumored that some progressives were gaining influence in the Flint local. Therefore one of the militants, Killinger, is brought up on charges by Dillon. The executive committee drops the charges; Dillon proceeds to read him out of the union. No trouble-makers from Flint must be permitted to disturb the convention at Detroit.

Labor Skates "Not Interested"
The progressives are demanding an international union with full jurisdiction over all who work in or around automobile or automobile parts plants. This program is (Continued on Page 2)

Congress Passes Harmless Social Security Program

Big Business Unconcerned About Bill; Completely Ineffectual in Improving Workers Conditions; Passes Burden Onto Labor

By A. J. MUSTE
The Roosevelt administration attaches great importance to the passage of the Social Security Bill last week. The measure provides for federal subsidies for unemployment insurance, the setting up of an old age pension system by taxation of employers and workers, special subsidies for aged persons not covered in the contributory plan and subsidies for certain forms of child welfare.

It is set forth by the administration as a partial but substantial redemption of its pledges to do something for the "forgotten man" and to keep the big fellows in their place though not destroying the

foundations of the capitalist system itself. It is expected to be a vote-getter for Franklin D. in the 1936 elections. If the Supreme Court should declare this and other New Deal measures unconstitutional, Roosevelt still has his choice of campaigning next year as the champion of the masses against the reactionary few for a constitutional amendment; or if economic conditions are fairly good and discontent not sharp, forgetting about the whole business and campaigning as the man who brought back prosperity and did his best for the plain people.

Neither the present Social Security measure nor the other laws enacted by Congress in the closing days of its long session will do anything to relieve immediate distress. Not until the first of next year does a 1 percent tax on pay-rolls for unemployment insurance go into effect and the full 3 percent tax does not go into effect until January 1, 1938. The contributory old age annuity tax does not go into effect until January 1, 1937. Even after the tax goes into effect it will be some time, of course, before any benefits obtain. So far as the present and immediate future go the hammering away at wage standards via the WPA and other channels is the Rooseveltian gift to the masses. Social Security legislation is a cover under these conditions for the wage-cutting campaign. Little wonder that as the business organs report, no particular enthusiasm is being displayed by the workers over the passage of the act.

Big Business Indifferent
As for the business interests, they are expressing comparatively little alarm over this legislation. They are much more concerned about the measures relating to banking, security and public utilities which Congress is threatening to pass and which might in some slight degree interfere with the piling up of profits and with the "right" of private business to "manage its own affairs." There is good reason for the absence of intense alarm over the social security legislation. In the first place, as we have already pointed out, it is some time before these measures go into effect. In the second place, the

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This reactionary piece of legislation, which apparently sprang full blown from the Chamber of Commerce and its tools, the corrupt capitalist politicians, is hailed by the local A. F. of L. press as a great "victory" for the workers and a step forward in the legislative program for "social betterment."

The amount which the lucky ones are going to receive is \$45 a month for couples and \$30 a month for single persons. Six bits a day for the few days they have left after 70 as compensation for the many years of back-breaking toil they have rendered in producing wealth for parasites while eking out a bare existence for themselves—such is the reward that capitalism offers its worn out slaves when it can no longer grind profits from them in the industries.

Thousands Rubbed Off
Needless to say, there are thousands of working class mothers and fathers who will get nothing. They will be unable to prove their "worthiness" to the "expert" social workers who will take their applications. Many thousands of such old workers are not even getting relief, the discrimination against them being equal to that practiced against the young workers.

And, of course, the nine years' residence in the state qualification will rule out thousands just as it

(Continued on Page 3)

Dunne Slugged In Clash in Mpls. Hosiery Strike

Farmer-Labor Mayor Again Gives Scabs Police Protection

By Northwest Correspondent
MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 19.—Early this morning a mass picket line of five hundred workers battled with police as the latter escorted scores of strike-breakers into the Strutwear plant, where a strike of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers has been on since last Friday.

Roy Weir, organizer for the Central Labor Union in Minneapolis, has been acting as organizer at the Strutwear factory. Weir has been messing around with the situation for months, in a half-hearted, vacillating manner. Finally his hand was forced by the firing of eight union men by the company, with the result that the strike was called without adequate preparation or plan. The blame for the state of affairs is by no means all Weir's, however. Casebeer, an international official of the Hosiery Workers, has been in town for several days now, appearing at union meetings and on the picket line. Casebeer seems to be walking around in a daze, and clings to a policy even more vacillating and aimless than Weir's. Some local workers claim that, for an international official, this man certainly cuts a sorry figure. Others claim that for an international official, he is pretty good.

Last Thursday night it was finally announced that the strike would be called the following morning. Word was sent around, and on Friday morning enough pickets were on hand to block effectively any attempt on the part of the management to open up the plant. The Strutwear plant (which for years has followed a notorious anti-union and low-wage policy) employs about 1,100 workers, mostly young girls. The eight men who were fired, all skilled machine tenders, form the nucleus of the union. About ninety more workers had signed applications to join the union up to last Friday. Since then scores of other workers have come into the union, chiefly the men workers who do the skilled work of machine tending.

After Friday's skirmish, the plant was quiet over the week-end, though it was continually patrolled by a slight picket line.

Police Open Fire
At 5 o'clock Monday morning the picket line began to form around the entrance of the plant. By 6:30 there were 550 pickets and a good sized crowd there. The cops began to arrive in their squad cars, until there were 80 or so policemen on hand, the entire shift. Also there appeared on the scene one of the handsome brown armored cars which the police have insisted were purchased by the city solely to protect payrolls in transport.

Scores of 574 men were on the line, from both the General Drivers and the Federal Workers sections. (Continued on Page 2)

'Thieves Kitchen' Folds Up; Britain Capitulates

Mussolini on a Volcano!

Writer Describes Crisis in Italy on the Eve of the Fascist Adventure in Ethiopia

By J. P. MARTIN
PARIS, July 24.—It is now as clear as day that no "compromise" can avert Mussolini's war in Ethiopia. Is this because of the grand manner of Mussolini or because Mussolini is less "peaceful" than the other statesmen? In fact, if one considers the new Italian campaign in Ethiopia from the juridical point of view, and were to take seriously the initial pretenses, that is to say, the so-called frontier incidents, the insults to the Italian flag and so forth, then Mussolini's undertaking does not appear as a reckless adventure. Millions are not spent for are thousands of soldiers sacrificed 4,800 kilometers from home for the "honor" of the flag. The bourgeoisie itself scorns such child's play. The truth is that Mussolini would have delayed still further before taking this road, if the difficulties of the internal situation had not impelled him in that direction. It is in this situation that we must seek the causes of the new Italian campaign in Ethiopia and not in the incidents at Ual-Ual or in anything else.

But when Rome openly proclaims that it wants to occupy Abyssinia because "Italy needs to expand," this apparently brutal aim is proclaimed only to deceive the people and especially the toiling masses, who, moreover are not such easy victims to this deception. Forty years ago, in Crispien's time, they said the same thing: "need of expansion," "security of Italy." Since then they have spent millions and sacrificed thousands upon thousands of men for the conquest of other territories in Africa (Libia). Now, the total Italian inhabitants in Libya, Eritria and Somaliland are only around 50,000 (and they are for the most part traders), while the number of Italian emigres every year before the war was 500,000 and even a million. The density of population (137 per kilometer) and the importance of manual labor certainly are heavy problems for Italy which before the war found a relative solution in continental and overseas emigration. At the present time all doors are closed and it can be said that the number of expatriated is equal to the number of repatriated. (From Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1931: expatriated—68,461; repatriated—49,827). Can a "road" be opened to the superabundant supply of manual labor by the pillage of Abyssinian territory? This is precisely what the Fascist press wants to have believed in order to justify its war of imperialist banditry in eastern Africa. But the people, as we shall see, are not being taken in by this deception.

Economic Crisis Wracks Italy
However, the imperialist struggle of the Italian bourgeoisie reveals a peculiar character which makes an examination necessary. A war such as Mussolini is about to undertake requires enormous capital (tens of millions); to "pacify" and to "colonize" conquered territories requires still greater available capital. Where will this capital be obtained if one takes into consideration that the annual Italian revenue does not exceed 60 millions, that the public debt has already risen to 152 million liras and that the State budget shows a growing deficit. Recourse to foreign capital will be necessary, as was the case in past wars. Thus, "the right of expansion" which the Italian bourgeoisie demands in the name of its "youth" (read: its "age," since it has come upon the scene very late in the partition of the world) is only the right to be admitted to the booty.

But whether or not they find the necessary foreign capital to carry through the occupation of Abyssinia undertaken by the Italian bourgeoisie the question here is one of division of profits between the thieves. Whatever the result of the bandit war which Rome has resolved to make against the King of Kings, the cause of it is less the result of "expansion" which Italy pretends to need, than the attempt to avert the terrible crisis which grips the Fascist regime. This crisis wracks the whole of Italian capitalist society. In short, the new campaign in Abyssinia is a new attempt to prevent the revolution. Let us carefully examine the facts.

As we have already said, the Italian bourgeoisie came very late upon the scene in the division of the world. (Continued on Page 3)

Duce Marches Full Speed to War in Africa

Only the International Working Class Can Defeat Him

By MARTIN A. GLEE
Not since the year 1914 has the world been so close to an armed struggle for imperialist conquest as it is today. The stage is all set. Mussolini is prepared to strike. Nothing will stop him. Late reports record the news that an Italian consul has been shot in Ethiopia. The record of pre-August 4, 1914 is again blaring forth its raucous tunes: War! War! War! The vain and impossible efforts of the League of Nations to stop war has again been proved to the hilt. The Franco-British-Italian "peace" committee has collapsed. It has been impossible to reconcile the irreconcilable. If Mussolini has not struck till now, it is not because of man-made agencies that has prevented him from so doing, rather it has been nature in the form of drenching rains and muddy trails that has kept Il Duce's beligerency at bay. But now the rainy season in Ethiopia is almost over. In September the rain-soaked clouds will clear. It is then that fascist Italy will attempt its conquest in East Africa.

British Hypocrisy
Here it is necessary to emphasize again that this conflict cannot be localized. Too much imperialist booty is at stake. Too many contending influences are at play. Britain, because it has most to lose from an Italian conquest of Ethiopia, has made every effort to content Mussolini with practically unlimited economic control of most of Ethiopia; but Mussolini wants all. So it is hoping for a speedy solution by Italy before the colonial masses of Africa are aroused and before the Italian masses at home throw off the yoke of Fascism. Hence its hastily convened Cabinet decision to let things remain as they are with the arms embargo against both Italy and Ethiopia standing. Such an embargo can only be an aid to Italy and a blow to Ethiopia. Italy has arms and means of manufacturing more. Ethiopia needs arms, has no means of manufacturing any and so the equilateral embargo is only a piece of Anglo-Saxon fakery disguised under the name of "equal justice for all."

Meanwhile the Giornale D'Italia, fascist mouthpiece, has declared that any effort at applying sanctions (penalties for treaty violations) by England will be treated as a declaration of war! French anxiety over the maintenance of the status quo in Europe, entirely favorable to her, accounts for her seeming neutrality with regard to Italy's desire in Africa. England's decision to leave the matter for League action on September 4, was probably due to just such pressure from France.

U. S. "Neutrality"
Italy's decision to act has already had its repercussions here in the United States. The "keep-the-U.S. out-of-war" crowd is going through the same antics as in the years immediately prior to 1917. The U. S. is going to be "neutral" for six months. In reality this "neutrality" is designed to benefit Italy. Neither the wolf nor the lamb shall be aided in the proud decision. That is, aided by federal means. For there is nothing in the bill to prevent private banking firms from extending loans nor industrialists from shipping non-warlike materials such as steel, scrap iron, etc. to whoever has the cash or the proper credit.

Under the heading, War Talk Aids Steel, in the Wall Street section of the New York Times of August 22, we read the following: "Although the Italo-Ethiopian controversy has managed to disarrange everything else, it ap- (Continued on Page 3)

Mooney Must Be Freed!

(Ed. Note: The Workers Party gives its wholehearted support to the following appeal by comrade Tom Mooney and urges all its members, friends and sympathizers to aid in the greatest cause labor has known.)

California State Prison San Quentin, Cal. August 14, 1935

Dear Friend:
Our battle for justice is now entering its final stages—the hearings on my writ of habeas corpus begin on September 17 before the California Supreme Court.

Because of your splendid, unflinching support, I am making this personal plea. I am in desperate need of funds for the finishing of this fight, and I am asking you if you won't help me meet my legal expenses before the California Supreme Court—and the United States Supreme Court in the event that it becomes necessary.

I owe five thousand dollars, and it is ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY that I raise sufficient funds to finish this fight for my vindication. Last week I was down to my last penny, and had to secure a loan of five hundred dollars so that the attorneys could proceed with the taking of the depositions of the witnesses who are in the East and unable to appear before the Court.

Your loyal support has always touched the deepest emotions in my heart and it is with sincere regret that I am compelled to call upon you for financial assistance—which I will use for legal work exclusively.

Warm personal regards, TOM MOONEY 31921.

P. S. Direct all contributions and communications to Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, Box 1475, San Francisco.

Don't Get Old in Missouri!

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—You can get a pension in the state of Missouri if (1) You do not starve to death or commit suicide before you reach the age of 70; (2) If you have been in the state at least (!) nine years and (3) If you can prove that you are destitute and in need of it.

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Retain Henderson in Sacramento Appeal

NEW YORK CITY.—Raymond W. Henderson, noted labor attorney and a member of the State Executive Committee of the California Socialist Party, has been retained as appeal counsel for Norman Mini, San Quentin Prisoner 57606, according to an announcement made yesterday by Herbert Solow, secretary of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee.

In addition to providing Mini's counsel, the committee advocates release of his seven fellow-workers also railroaded by the Associated Farmers Inc. under the notorious California criminal syndicalism law because of union activities. Mini was defended in trial court by Albert Goldman of Chicago, retained by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. The latter organization is now associated in the National Sacramento Defense Committee with the Socialist Party, General Defense Committee, Workers Party and other organizations.

Henderson is one of the country's leading experts in criminal syndicalism defense. He was the foremost defender of I.W.W. members against frame-ups under this law 15 years ago and also played a

leading role in the Imperial Valley cases a few years ago.

"We will not stop with retaining Henderson," Solow stated in announcing the committee's action. "Nobody can present the legal case better than he, but the court which is keeping Tom Mooney in San Quentin does not consider legal arguments by themselves. The judges want to know whether there is popular demand for the release of these innocent young men and women. Our committee will try to rally unions and all opponents of reaction to give dignified, aggressive expression to their feeling against the criminal syndicalism law and the frame-up perpetrated under it in Sacramento by the anti-union conspirators."

As its first step in popularizing the Sacramento appeal issue, the defense committee will issue a five cent pamphlet on the history of the case, to be circulated by the organizations constituting the joint defense body. The committee has established headquarters at 41 Union Square, Room 707, where further information may be obtained.

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Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Labor and Capital

Alfred P. Sloan announces to the press the company union plan of the General Motors Corporation: "The plan was designed to meet all the requirements of section 7a of the NIRA. It has been in effect several weeks. However, workers were first informed of it today." Federal conciliators headed by Edward McGrady, the nation's foremost strikebreaker, have intervened in 1,140 strikes and lockouts and "successfully adjusted" 885. Secretary of Labor Fanny Perkins who opposed McGrady for the post of her assistant is forced to admit, "I was wrong about Mr. McGrady." . . . The Columbian Enameling and Stamping Co., instigator of Terre Haute's general strike, though in the center of the city, is adjudged outside the city limits and pays no taxes. City and state police and national guards (paid from tax money), defending the scab policy of the non-taxpaying company, battled taxpaying strikers and sympathizers. . . . Singing "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty" a sixty year old San Francisco lumber striker was clubbed into unconsciousness by the police. . . . Missouri tin miners receive average earnings of \$2.50 a week. The National Lead Co. which controls the tin industry showed a surplus of \$916,548 for 1934 and has made profits every year during the depression. The balance for the payment of dividends has not gone below \$3,300,000. W. H. Croft, president, received compensation of \$88,013 in 1934. . . .

Jurisprudence

In a contempt of court case arising from violation of a labor injunction Judge W. B. McMahon of Cleveland, Ohio, gave his written opinion to newspaper reporters before hearing the case. . . . Of the 81 municipal power plants backed by the PWA, 22 have been blocked by court injunctions. Judges' opinions in the cases were so similar in wording that the general counsel of the PWA has asserted that they were "drafted on forms or instructions emanating from some central source." . . .

Political Science

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace tells farmers: "If you are receiving more for farm products today than two years ago it is due mainly to the planning policies of the AAA." . . . To striking housewives he says: "Consumers would be paying somewhat more for pork if there had been no 'pig program' in 1933" and issues statistics to show that the price of pork has not gone as high as we think. . . . Gov. Ruby Laffoon of Kentucky sent troops to hostile Harlan County to insure an honest primary election. In unguarded Logan County Laffoon's candidate received 10,500 out of a possible 10,400 votes. . . .

Military Science

Wholesome summer activities of the Illinois National Guard at its annual encampment: "On Wednesday there will be a practical demonstration with 400 officers and men acting as a 'mob.' As portions of the riot detachments simulate a frontal attack on the 'mob' another section will make a flank attack with tear gas bombs. The aviation and observation squadrons will take part, dropping hand grenades. . . . Intelligence lessons will be given during the week by Lieutenant William M. Spencer. . . . Protestant and Catholic religious services will be conducted each morning." . . .

Good and Welfare

Scurvy, a disease of malnutrition which had almost disappeared in the U. S. by 1929, is returning. Says Dr. T. B. Cooley, president of the American Society of Pediatrics, "As the depression deepened we came to realize that we were seeing in a few weeks more scurvy than an ordinary physician would have expected to see in a lifetime." . . . Dr. Adela J. Smith, Assistant Director of Health and Education in New York City, reports, "Malnutrition has rendered 135,000 students of the elementary schools too weak and undernourished to attend classes." . . . New York's newest dog shop opens. "It was decorated at a cost of \$20,000. Uniformed doorman usher in prospective buyers. The usual doggy aroma has been replaced by a slight fragrance suggesting myrrh. Food is prepared by trained dieticians and the vitamin content carefully watched. Within the reach of all is a running flow of drinking water. The pets are tethered around a spread of rubber carpeted dais, backed by mirrors. Attendants in spotless white duck exercise the dogs every three hours and they are combed, powdered and given a teeth brushing daily." . . .

BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY.

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Spartacan Trounces Stalinist In First Debate in Middle West

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 7.—In the presence of 40 youth from the Calumet vicinity, the Mid-West Spartacus Youth League and the Young Communist League of District 8 staged a debate on Wednesday, Aug. 7, at Indiana Harbor, Indiana, on the subject, "Resolved: The Trotskyists are not counter-revolutionary." Al Garber, regional educational director of the S.Y.L., upheld the affirmative and the Y.C.L. Gary organizer spoke for the negative.

Goaded on by the continual taunts of Spartacus, as well as innumerable challenges, and bolstered by Olgin's recent spurious pamphlet on Trotskyism, the Young Communist League was finally pushed to the wall and forced into a debate before a class in Indiana Harbor conducted by the Spartacus Youth League. This was the first time in the history of the Mid-West S.Y.L., and probably the first time nationally, that the Young Communist League debated with the Spartacus.

Starting with the theory of permanent revolution and proletarian internationalism, comrade Garber pointed out how the Communist International since the death of Lenin had so deviated from its original principles that today it stood side by side with the social-patriotic Second International. He illustrated the effects of socialism in one country on the revolutions in Germany, 1923; China, 1925-27; England, 1926; Germany, 1933 and France, 1935, bringing the affirmation of history to the fact that the Stalinists are the organizers of defeats. As a result the organization of the Fourth International and a new Youth International, based on the principles of Marx and Lenin, now directly poses itself to the world working class.

Puny Stalinist Arguments

The only recourse the Y.C.L. organizer had was vilification and slander. He stated the usual Stalinist idiocies about Trotskyism being counter-revolutionary and petty bourgeois. Trotsky, he pointed out, underestimated the peasantry, refused to be disciplined by the Bolshevik party, was not the head of the Red Army nor the co-organizer with Lenin of the Russian revolution. And finally he asserted that Trotsky, if not directly responsible, was at least indirectly implicated in the murder of Kirov. The high point of the Stalinist's speech was reached when he denied the existence of a pre-revolutionary situation in France.

In the rebuttal the S.Y.L. called the lie to these slanders and quoted Lenin to prove the presence of a pre-revolutionary situation in France. The humorous touch was added to the debate when, after the Y.C.L. rebutted, a member of the

Y. C. L. naively inquired of the speaker about the Y.C.L. and stated his desire to join. With cries of "Stooge number one" the audience broke into laughter.

For over a month the Mid-West Regional Committee of the S.Y.L. has been concentrating on Indiana Harbor. A class of approximately twelve youth has been functioning. It was at the August 1 meeting of the class that the Y.C.L. sent in its disrupters, but when the Spartacus members, as well as the outsiders, insisted upon a formal debate where the differences between the two organizations could be delineated, the Young Communist League found itself in a corner out of which it could not squirm. After apologizing for declining a debate, the Y.C.L. "condescended" to formally argue with the Spartacus before the Calumet district youth.

Toledo Workers School Begins Sessions Sept. 4

TOLEDO, Ohio.—The Toledo Workers School, established by the Lucas County Unemployed League later broadening its scope to an independent non-partisan institution, has just issued its prospectus for the 1935-1936 term with classes to begin on September 4. "While the school," the prospectus explains, "is non-partisan in character insofar as it admits all working class students regardless of their opinions or affiliations, it nevertheless is dedicated to the task of the building of a Workers' Republic in place of the present outmoded and decadent capitalist system."

Courses are to be "directed toward assisting working men and women in the solution of their problems as derived from their economic and class positions in modern society. . . .

A course on the "History of the American Labor Movement" will be given in two separate classes: Class 1 is to meet on Tuesdays in East Toledo between 7:30-8:20 P.M. and Class 2 on Wednesdays in the Toledo Workers Hall at the same time. A course on the History and Principles of Scientific Socialism: Class 1 on Tuesdays between 8:30-9:20 P.M. in East Toledo and Class 2 in the Toledo Workers School on Wednesdays at the same time. Course 3 is on "Public Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure on Tuesdays: 7:30-8:20 P. M. and Course 4 on Current Events at the Toledo Workers School on Tuesdays: 8:30-9:20 P.M.

The admission is free to all unemployed workers and only a nominal fee is requested from those employed. Registrations can be made at 322½ Ontario St. the address of the Toledo Workers School.

Dunne Slugged In Clash in Mpls. Hosiery Strike

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Once a crowd of pickets broke through the cops' line and sought to prevent the scabs from entering the plant. Dunne was singled out from the pickets near the door of the factory and was whipped inside the plant by the cops. There he was slugged across the head, thrown across a table in such a manner that several ribs were broken, and then thrown down on the floor and choked.

Later the police patrol arrived on the scene to take Dunne to jail. However the crowd threatened to upset the patrol car, so it was taken away. Finally Dunne was whisked out the back door by the cops, thrown into an armored car and taken to jail. The Local 574 leader was later transferred to the General Hospital where his wounds were treated. After vigorous protest by Local 574, Ray Dunne was released late in the morning on bail furnished by the General Drivers Union.

At one time in the melee, a cop was trying to escort a scissorbill into the plant. The crowd surged around him and the cop drew his gun and fired a shot, but hit no one. One of the office workers of the Strutwear Company, who was actively herding scabs, was beamed with a brick thrown by some one in the crowd. The cops used their saps liberally in trying to break up the picket line. They showed more courage than usual, fortified, no doubt, by the appearance of the armored car with its nest of machine guns.

Farmer-Labor Mayor Sets Record

In the few short weeks that he has occupied the office of Mayor, Latimer, the Farmer-Laborite, has established a record for himself and his administration. This is the second time in the past month that the local police have been used to escort flunkies into struck plants. A few Fridays ago Latimer appeared on the picket line at the Flour City plant, where an iron workers' strike was (and still is) in progress, and personally escorted some thirty scabs into the plant with the help

of the police. And now today this weak-kneed and vacillating policy again allows the police to attempt to break another strike. All this is doubly disgraceful after Latimer's repeated campaign pledges not to use the police force for strike duty. The rank and file of the Farmer-Labor party is becoming more and more outraged at these actions on the part of its standard bearer. As for the working class of Minneapolis, it is rapidly coming to understand what this kind of a labor program means. Tom Latimer does everything Bainbridge did, and does it more subtly and therefore more dangerously.

The Scab Parade

At three o'clock Monday afternoon a crowd of a thousand or more, together with that many pickets, gathered in front of the Strutwear plant. The cops were all on hand. Down the street were lined up six armored cars. Suddenly a yell went up from the cops at the side of the plant. The pickets surged toward the yelling. But the disturbance was a decoy. A moment later the scabs, formed in ranks of four like so many school children, began pouring out of the rear door. Interspersed among them were the police with their saps. Hundreds of pickets gathered on either side of the street and accompanied the scissor-bills as they were marched down the road by the cops. As the parade went on, more and more workers joined in the picket cortege. A more foolish sight than this scab march hasn't been seen since the last Shriners parade.

Girls Used to Protect Men

The employers and the police adopted a cowardly tactic in the march. The male scabs were bunched in groups of three to five, and formed a core around which fifty scab girls coiled.

In a few minutes thousands of workers were accompanying the strike-breakers, boogieing them and letting them know what self-respecting workers think of scabs who parade themselves before the populous in this disgusting fashion. To an honest picket, each scab in that line of march must have seemed to have had around his neck a sign reading: "I Want to Work for Low Wages—I Am a Betrayer of my Fellow-Workers." Every few feet a picket would

Walter Sukut Dead

Word has come to us of the death of Comrade Walter Sukut of Waukegan, N. Dak. He succumbed a few weeks ago to a heart attack. This is the reason given for his death, but in reality he succumbed to an illness contracted over a long period of time working in one of the Chicago capitalist hell-holes—a red lead factory. When employed there, he was given regular physical examination but at the time of his last examination in 1930, he was laid off. Undoubtedly, the cancer gnawing at his vitals had already progressed far at the time.

Comrade Sukut died a victim of capitalist exploitation. He was a sterling revolutionist, active for years in the general working class and revolutionary movement, and joined the Communist League of America shortly after its formation. He remained an active supporter of the Workers Party from the time of its formation.

OUL March in Bryan Ohio Wins Relief

BRYAN, Ohio.—A hundred unemployed workers with their families marched on the relief office of Williams, Ohio, last Thursday protesting the inadequacy of the relief and the starvation that was impending if the relief was not increased. This was the largest delegation so far marshalled in this community under the leadership of the Ohio Unemployed League. A meeting took place with Mr. H. M. Brannan, the relief director, and Sam Pollock and George Cole of the Ohio Unemployed League participating.

Mr. Brannan suggested that due to prevailing conditions a man should work for what he could get. Some farmers were willing to pay as high as fifty cents a day, and Mr. Brannan said that they should take it. Sam Pollock explained that the American worker had built up a decent standard of living through years of militant struggle and that this was an attempt on the part of the authorities to lower the standard to that of the coolies. Mr. Brannan said this was communistic talk. Pollock replied, that wanting to eat "was not communistic."

Only five thousand dollars has been the amount received for the month of August, whereas for the month of July ten thousand had been granted. The eight hundred dollars left over was given out for grocery orders and medical attention. A resolution was adopted at the end of the demonstration, for direct relief, immediate provision for dental and medical care, for clothing, WPA jobs at union wages and supplementary relief to part time workers.

If this is not granted they will be back again next week.

fall in line with the scabs. Suddenly he would swing on a male scab, and the rat would go down. The cops would rush the picket who would double back in the crowd where the police were afraid to venture. This was repeated block after block. Traffic was tied up and the office workers in the downtown buildings all quit work and rushed to the windows to laugh at the sorry sight. The parade proceeded down Seventh Street to Nicollet Avenue. Here it was the intent of the police to escort the scabs into their rat-hole—Rayton's department store, chief labor-hating retail establishment in the Northwest. Hundreds of scabs fled into the store, the girls, red-faced and sobbing, being used to protect the rat-eyed and shivering men. Here the pickets got in some of their best work. A score or so had seen through the scab-herding plan and were already at the entrance of Dayton's, prepared to hold a reception. Many of the male rats had been spotted and were challenged in the store and shown what union men and women of Minneapolis think of them.

It was doubtless the plan of the employers to gain public sympathy by this scab parade. But in their usual dull and blundering fashion, they muffed it completely. They never dreamt that thousands of Minneapolis workers would so thoroughly harangue and ridicule the march that the tables would be completely turned. Instead of gaining sympathy for themselves and their behavior, the employers and the scissor-bills are the laughing stock of the town. Some hours after this Roman holiday, there are thousands of pickets surrounding the plant. The morale of the young and inexperienced pickets is now sky-high based on the support so generously given them during the march. It was they, and not the scabs, who had the entire sympathy of thousands of working men and women. For the indecent scabs, Minneapolis has only contempt.

Ray Weir has been quoted as saying: "This strike will be won in the Mayor's office." To say the least, this is a fatal notion that will have to be combatted and overcome immediately. The strike of the Strutwear unionists will be won where all strikes are won: On the picket line!

The Manager's Corner

This week we sound the alarm. The campaign for the eight-page weekly is lagging seriously. We are still below one fourth of the total sum required to launch the expanded issue. Very soon the first issue must appear and it is dangerous to delay the collection of the funds necessary.

Not only is the campaign lagging, but instead of a continuous rise in returns on this account, there has been a drop during the last few weeks. During the week ending August 3 we received in contributions, advance subscriptions, club subscriptions and greetings a total off \$86.35. During the week ending August 10 the total dropped to \$2.80, the week ending August 17 recorded a further drop to a total of \$32.50 and this week the total is \$32.00.

In regard to this situation we address ourselves primarily to the party branches. A good many of them have given us information of pledges made but the returns have not come in. The building up of the party press, however, cannot be delayed. If we mean it seriously a complete change in regard to responses is necessary. From the New York district we expect the lead. Comprehensive plans have been worked out but they still have to be carried into actual life.

In the second place we address ourselves to our sympathizers and readers. We know that they are all vitally interested in the improvements planned for our press, but we also count upon them to help make it possible by material assistance.

Contributions received from the party branches have brought the Harlem branch up to a point of close competition with the Boston branch. The latter still stands at the amount of \$59.50 and the Harlem branch this week reaches a

total of \$56.38. This brings the Harlem branch way ahead of the other and bigger New York branches. The Harlem branch has a quota of \$96.00 and good prospects of reaching it soon. The West Side branch is still next in contributions made with a total of \$40.00 to date. Its quota is \$105.00. The Center branch reaches this week a total contribution of \$37.75 and its quota is \$135.00. But the Bronx branch with a quota of \$150.00 has so far collected only \$22.50 of this amount. In contrast to this, the small Flatbush branch has contributed \$23.00 and it should easily go far beyond its quota of \$30.00. The other New York branches are still too far behind in their contributions to be considered very seriously in the competition and insofar as the other branches in the country are concerned no appreciable change can be recorded since our last report.

During the week we have received the following amounts:

Contributions	
S. Schlesinger, Chicago.....	\$ 50
West Side branch, N.Y.C.....	1.00
M. Spring, Toronto, Canada..	1.00
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C.....	.50
East Side branch, N.Y.C.....	3.00
Center branch (XYZ) N.Y.C..	5.00
Harlem branch, N.Y.C.....	6.00
Astoria branch, N.Y.C.....	2.30
Total Contributions.....	\$130.30
Subscriptions (Club Plan)	
Eidenson, Bronx branch.....	1.50
N. S. branch, Chicago.....	4.00
Rose Casano, Chicago.....	2.00
Semomington, Chicago.....	3.20
Greetings	
Rose Casano, Chicago.....	2.00
Previously reported.....	\$457.96
Grand Total.....	\$489.96

Let us have more speed in the campaign so that the eight-page weekly may actually appear before another month passes by.

Candy Makers Strike Hard

By JACK WALTON

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 18.—On Wednesday, August 14, the night crew of the Crystal Pure Candy Co. went on strike. The next morning a picket line was thrown around the factory and the entire day crew joined the strike. The strike started as a spontaneous walkout against the firing of four men; but it has since taken on greater aims than the rehiring of these four men.

The conditions in the shop were absolutely unbearable. There were no regular hours of work. There was no time off for lunch. Lunch had to be eaten while working. There were virtually no sanitary conditions in any part of the shop. There was a terrific speed-up. There was only one licensed boiler engineer. When the night crew went to work it was locked in until the next morning. In case of a fire there would have been a catastrophe. And the workers were employed at starvation wages. Under the NRA the men had made 40 cents an hour, the girls 35 cents an hour. All of the girls' wages have been cut. Some of the men's wages were cut to 30 cents an hour. Where the wages weren't cut directly, the boss began to fire the old workers and to hire new ones at 20 and 25 cents an hour. That was the immediate cause of the strike. The average wage in the shop at the time of the strike was \$11 a week.

The strike began to get on its feet almost at once. On Friday a strike headquarters was opened. A strike committee of 20 is directing the work. Plans are being laid to establish a commissary by Tuesday. The strikers are divided into picket squads with a captain for each squad, all under the general supervision of Benny Landau, chairman of the picket captains. The squads go out at regular intervals. The spirit of the strikers is high. The strike was called just when the bosses had received a large number of orders, so the spirit of the bosses is low. On Thursday they asked for negotiations. As yet very little has been decided.

The ranks of the strikers are solid. The company tried to split the ranks by threatening not to rehire the night crew. But the attempt fizzled out completely. With virtually no exceptions, all the 250 workers in the plant have signed up with Local 279 of the Bakery and Confectionery Worker International Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The demands of the strike are:

1. Recognition of the union.
2. Rehiring of all the old help.
3. Restoration of the entire wage cut.

A ten percent increase for the skilled workers. This question will be negotiated, if necessary; negotiations to start before Sept. 15. Yesterday afternoon a meeting of the strikers was held. Notwithstanding a terrific rainstorm, about 200 workers attended. Brother Topp, of the Joint Board, who is assisting the strike, delivered a long talk on unionism, and the nec-

essity of keeping the entire plant closed, if necessary by throwing the entire union membership on the picket line. A report was given by the committee that had gone to the government labor office and the Chicago Federation of Labor. Brother Landau made the report for the strike committee, emphasizing that there were two warring camps, to bosses and the workers, and that the strike must be conducted with this always in mind. He also emphasized the necessity of the strikers depending upon their own fighting power in order to conquer. All the proposals of the strike committee were accepted unanimously.

Dillon to Pack Convention of Auto Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

popular with the membership. It corresponds to their interests. The petrified officialdom at Atlantic City, however, have more important matters to worry about than the demands and needs of the automobile workers. These "labor leaders" have their own vested interests to look after. That is why Dillon is so busy "somewhere in the middle West." That is why the American Federation of Labor is granting charters so hastily to newly organized "large" locals.

Most of the federal unions of the United Automobile Workers are, as is well known, in bad shape. Every attempt at organization has been deliberately sabotaged by the Dillon office. It is becoming increasingly clear why the convention was called at this time, and why a convention of the rubber unions will be called next month. The executive council felt that today they are still strong enough to place their heavy hands around the throat of an automobile International; if they waited, things would perhaps get out of hand.

Obviously they are not leaving things to chance. The Dillon machine is working full steam ahead. The credentials committee will probably be able to report quite a few "large" locals formed "somewhere in the middle west" and receiving charters just in time to participate at the Detroit convention.

The progressives are making preparations to fight any steamrolling tactics of a corrupt bureaucracy. Their forces are probably still too weak to dominate the convention, but they have been effectively inoculated against the "virus" of quitting mass unions, because their leaders betray them. They are planning to enlarge their numbers, and strengthen their ranks for the inevitable battles of the future.

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Workers Party Booms In the North west

Following up the recent substantial acquisitions to party membership in western North Dakota and Eastern Montana, the comrades west of the Mississippi have recently recorded another noteworthy achievement in party building. Substantial branches of the W.P. were organized last week at Albert Lea and Austin, Minn. Active unionists and agricultural workers are included in the membership. Writing about this development, one of the party organizers states of the new acquisitions: "They are all militant men and women who accept our program, who are eager to learn and anxious to follow the examples they have seen of work in other parts of the labor movement."

White Collar WPA Workers Protest

A demonstration of eight hundred white collar workers, who called a stoppage from noon to 3 P.M., took place Thursday at the Port Authority Building. The stoppage was called by the City Projects Council, the central projects organization, against the wage cuts which have gone through since the projects were taken over by the Federal authorities.

The slogans at the demonstration called for the payment of back pay, in most instances three weeks behind, the right to sick leave without loss of pay, recalled when the projects came under the WPA, and vacations with pay such as the administration has been granted.

A committee to see General Johnson reported that he would see them after their working hours, at five o'clock. The outcome of the meeting was to the effect that he could do nothing, it was all up to Washington. He said that a special grant had been forwarded from Washington which would enable the WPA workers to get 13 dollars to tide them over till the transfer from local to WPA was made. But beware of Generals bearing gifts from Washington.

Many of the WPA workers in the Parks Dept. had to be taken to work in Department trucks, not having the carfare to ride to and from the job. Park Commissioner Moses reported cases of starvation. When a park Commissioner takes time off from his political functions to make statements to the press, even the arrogant General Johnson took notice and listened.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

CHICAGO PICNIC

Chicago Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense
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Italy Alive with Unrest on Eve of African Conflict

West Coast Notes

By EARL LANE

PORTLAND, Ore., Aug. 20.—Pacific coast longshoremen began voting today on the question of handling cargo from British Columbia ports where the longshoremen are on strike.

On this question hinges the fate of the present working agreement which expires September 30. Notice of renewal or abrogation of the agreement was due today but I.L.A. officials asked for and received a ten day extension of the time limit.

The Maritime Federation of the Pacific has already voted to sustain the embargo.

Action of the Pacific coast executive board of the I.L.A. headed by William J. Lewis, in ordering a referendum independent of the Maritime Federation can only be construed as an attempt to split the I.L.A. away from the Federation and thus materially weaken the ranks of the maritime unions in the face of the attacks of the bosses.

The truck drivers of the Meier and Frank's department store, largest in the Pacific Northwest, are on strike for union wages and union recognition.

This establishment has as one of its partners former governor Julius Meier, who called out the national guard at the request of the waterfront employers last summer in an effort to break the maritime strike.

Portland workers are once again getting a practical lesson in the role of the state through the fact that a policeman is riding in every truck that makes a Meier and Frank delivery in order to protect the scab driver.

Longshoremen are refusing to handle any merchandise shipped to this establishment.

Organized labor joined ranks with the unemployed and the veterans in a militant protest against the \$19 to \$24 WPA wage scale, on Saturday, August 17.

A parade through the main streets of the city was followed by a mass meeting in Plaza Park which lasted for several hours.

Organizations which participated in this thrilling demonstration of the growing militancy and solidarity of labor here in this city were: the National Welfare Federation, affiliated to the Workers Alliance; Central Federation Against Unemployment, affiliated to the National Unemployment Council; Portland Central Labor Council, comprising 88 local unions, Veterans Union, and the Oregon Truckmen's Association. The demonstration was endorsed by the convention of the Oregon State Federation of Labor, which adjourned the day before the demonstration.

Don't Get Old in Missouri

(Continued from Page 1)

was intended it should. No doubt other states will make similar qualifications. The tremendous population shifts which have taken place as a result of seven years of devastating and unprecedented capitalist crisis will thus play right into the hands of the boss class and its instrument, the capitalist state. Workers who have all the "rights" accorded to "citizens" under "constitutional" law will find that their "citizenship" and "constitutional rights" aren't worth a damn when they apply for relief or a share in the New Deal "social betterment" plan which capitalism has prepared for them just as they have found them worthless in other fields of class struggle.

The labor skates would have us believe that this starvation program for the working class aged is so much better than relief. When a bare subsistence relief dole is dignified with the title "old age pension" that is supposed to make a difference. There is an old saying that "a rose by any other name is just as sweet." To which we would add that a lemon by any other name.

Duce Marches Full Speed to War in Africa

(Continued from Page 1)

pears that it is acting as a steady influence on the iron and steel markets. The possibilities inherent in a conflict between those two nations have not been lost on those close to the trade. Because of difficulties in financing orders, Italy, formerly one of the heaviest importers of American scrap steel, has been absent from that market lately. However, it is indicated that the Mussolini government will return here for its metals—and with funds to finance its purchases.

No laws on the books of capitalism have as yet been enacted to keep steel manufacturers from selling their product.

War Preparations Everywhere

Coincident with the events in Europe and East Africa the U. S. military machine is going through the most stupendous maneuvers ever undertaken in peace time. Blue armies equipped with all the accoutrements of modern warfare, ten-wheel tanks, poison gas, radio cars, bombers, etc. are fighting imaginary Red armies in an effort to test the war time strength and capacity of the standing army. Austria is already pledged to stand by Italy and has declared its readiness to stage off an attack by Hitler.

The question of utmost importance is: Can Italy withstand a protracted and long drawn out conflict? Elsewhere in this issue there is an analysis of the internal regime in Italy on the eve of the conflict. The misery of the Italian masses is unparalleled. The hunger belt cannot be squeezed any tighter. Add to that the horrors of war and the Italian masses may yet awaken and take advantage of Mussolini's desperate adventure in Ethiopia and put an end to fascism in Italy forever. But for that more than despair is needed. The masses indeed are desperate. What is needed is guidance and help from the outside world.

The Italian Workers Must Act

The cause of the people of Ethiopia is the cause of the Italian laboring masses. There is no conflict between them. Their goal is the same—liberation from fascism and imperialism. The Italian proletariat is being armed with physical instruments of destruction; to these arms must be added the arms of revolutionary ideology. Let the workers and peasants of Italy learn to use these arms against their own oppressors, their own exploiters—the ruling class of Italy.

It is necessary to show the Italian masses they are not alone; that the international working class will be behind them in their efforts to slough off the fascist scourge. Powerful demonstrations against fascism must be organized to bring this message to the exploited of Italy. In this connection it is necessary to speak out against the shameful manner in which the Socialist party, through its intermediary Valente, has permitted the united front movement against Italy's invasion of Ethiopia to peter out. The efforts of the Communist party on behalf of Ethiopia—getting aside days of prayer, etc.—are too disgusting to be worthy of too much comment here. The spectacle of Negro workers breaking up meetings of working class organizations speaking in the name of communism because of Litvinov's despicable role in Geneva is Stalinism's contribution to the Italo-Ethiopian dispute.

A mighty united front movement must be set up to stem the fascist march on Ethiopia. The international boycott against fascist Italy must get under way. Time is short. Speed and decision is necessary. To the Italian masses we say: Turn Mussolini's war against Ethiopia into a civil war—the enemy is in your own country.

PUSH THE CLUB PLAN.

SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE

Mussolini Embarks on Campaign Against Ethiopia to Sidetrack Attention from Poverty and Discontent at Home

(Continued from Page 1)

The unity of the Italian state was consummated in 1870 under the impulsion of the Northern industrial bourgeoisie. Because of its very weak specific gravity the industrial bourgeoisie could safeguard its hegemony and control over the political and economic life of the nation only by "authoritarian," i.e. reactionary, methods. The regime of Crispi (1887-1896) witnessed the first adventure in Abyssinia. The cities and villages of Italy were still seething: the peasants of central Italy and the workers of the Northern industries were rising, rebelling against the state. Crispi was the "strong" man of the bourgeoisie. He "energetically" suppressed in blood every insurrectionist attempt. Then came Adowa (March 1, 1896). Two Italian generals, 4,000 soldiers and officers were killed there. Others were taken prisoner. The Negus Menelek defeated young Italian imperialism. For five ensuing years the bourgeoisie tried to rule by terror. After the bloody repression of the peasant movements in Sicily (1893) came the repression in Milan in 1898. At the dawn of the 20th century Humbert the 1st was assassinated by the anarchist Bresci. A new period opened. Capitalism was in full bloom. Social reformism flourished from 1900 to 1910. The "revolution" took the road of legality. But not for long. The worker-bourgeois bloc represented by the reformist-Giolitti bloc lost its effectiveness. The worker and peasant masses once more directed their fire at the state. The revolutionary current strengthened and developed. This was the period of Mussolinism, of Mussolini, the "revolutionary" leader. "Red week" (June 1914) found Mussolini at the head of the insurrectionist movement. But with such "leaders" the movement was bound to fail—and in fact, it did fail. This was before the war. From 1915 to 1918 Italy participated in the slaughter. In 1917 we see Caporetto and the revolt in Turin against the war. The revolution was not dead. "Victory" found Italy in complete chaos. The masses of the North and the Center once again rose against the state. Through the mistakes of the leadership the revolution was once again defeated. Came Fascism.

Fascism attributed the cause of the economic and financial crisis to the workers' strikes, the very heavy taxes, the very high prices and the misfortune of the peasants, to the workers also. What has it done? It slashed the wages of the workers to a level below that of the pre-war period; it developed the industrial apparatus, but by that it increased the disproportion between capacity of production and the possibilities of consumption, thereby diffusing even further the general impoverishment of the population. It prohibited the right to strike, but chaos in production increased at the same time. Taking 1929 as an index, the year when the last crisis began, production fell to 70 percent at the close of 1934. In many branches of industry, particularly textile, machine activity dropped to 40 percent of capacity. Despite the introduction of the 40 hour week the unemployed were far from absorbed into production. Even at the end of June of this year despite the mobilization of soldiers and workers for the Ethiopian adventure there were more than 700,000 unemployed.

Peasants Impoverished

If one wishes to establish what Fascism has given the peasants it is sufficient to take note of the resolution passed by the leadership of the (fascist) Syndicate of Agrarian Technicians of Treviso.

1) From the agrarian point of view there is an obvious regression in productive activity, particularly aggravated in recent years and made obvious by an inferior cultural activity, a diminishing use of fertilizer, inferior production and an impoverishment of the offspring in livestock; 2) from the economic point of view, a growing pauperization and indebtedness of the big and small farmers on the one side and of the landed proprietors on the other, and of a lack of profit in staples, when there is no loss; 3) from the demographic point of view, a disproportion between the labor force of the families of the farmers and the extension of the land, and a lack of equilibrium between the number of families and the available property, which is the cause of 667 families of the province remaining without land.

Multipled by 92—for there are 92 provinces in Italy—the above figures give a real picture of the grim misery of Italian agriculture. The peasant who had a bit of land

and who out of fear of "Bolshevism" augmented the ranks of Fascism in 1921-1922, saw all his property disappear with the seizure of power by Mussolini. Deprived of his bit of ground he is forced today to beg for his existence. The same applies to the small storekeepers and the small manufacturers. Fascism has lost its social props. But the most disturbing problem for it is the problem of the youth.

Youth Rebellion

The young generation, raised in Fascist surroundings, is demanding its right to live. Games, sports, Fascist festivals cannot fill the belly. The youth, returning home from the demonstrations, finds neither bread nor cigarettes and is forced to demand his place in the sun. Unconsciously, he is carrying on the class struggle. Corruption and disease have gone to such lengths that Mussolini and his lackeys are compelled to refer in their speeches to the "system," to "capitalism," "which has outlived its usefulness." But if anti-capitalism in the mouth of Mussolini only demagogues, the young people do not stop at formalities; they demand deeds. And it is not without importance that in the ranks of Fascism itself, despite the violent suppression of all class spirit, anti-capitalist tendencies are everywhere gaining ground. Together with the old Marxists being sent to the deportation camps are many young people who took seriously the anti-capitalism of the functionaries of the corporations. A new spirit breathes in the Fascist "jail." The young unemployed graduate, the young worker and the young peasant absorbed in the search of a piece of bread, who in the capitalist countries where fascism is only a threat, constitute the source of eventual recruits which enlarge the ranks of fascism—in Italy, where fascism has ruled for 13 years, they can find an issue for their difficulties and their discontent only on the road of revolution. The bellicose solution is presented to the discontented and aroused youth as the antidote to revolution. Thus the Italian bourgeoisie is doubly interested in supporting the Italo-Ethiopian campaign. 1) because the latter appears as a possible source of loot; and 2) because it offers a "safety valve" for discharging the forces of "revolution" which once again have made their pressure felt in Italy.

Capital Frightened

However, capitalism itself is constantly disturbed by this solution. Where will it lead to in the end? Will not contrary results arise than those desired? Profit is the raison d'être of capitalism. Now, after thirteen years of fascism, the Italian capitalist is full of anxiety for his money. Wasn't fascism to give him peace, and security of investments? But, he finds, on the contrary, that the fascism which he supported and helped to place in power, is very costly. Fascism takes the lion's share. What more will it devour? Every form of capital investment gives rise to fear among the money holders. Fear of inheritance taxes turns away investment in real estate. Similarly, the fear of taxation on dividends and rendering deeds nominal makes investments in such fields insecure. The rate of profits on investments in Italy, is besides, very low. A very significant symptom of the state of mind of the Italian capitalist, is found in the fact that from 1928 to 1934 the reserves of the Bank of Italy fell from 12,106 million to 5,832 million liras. That is to say about 7 millions took flight abroad before draconian measures were taken to stem the flight of gold and currency (arrangements governing the movement of capital; defense against exporting money in bank notes or in checks; rigid monopoly of trade in the means of payment, etc.). Equally significant is the general fall of state debts. The ex-consolidate 5 percent converted by authority into "redeemable" at 3.5 percent and which was 88 in December fell to 77 last April and is now 68!

Are we to believe by this that the bourgeoisie is withdrawing its confidence in its fascist "agent"? Undoubtedly a revolutionary crisis will not unfold without extreme manifestations of panic in the propertied classes. However, we are still far from that. The bourgeoisie has not forgotten 1919-1920, it fears the proletarian revolution at the same time that it is disoriented with fascism, which costs very dearly and it already feels the drain of usury. And that is a symptom which must be taken into account in the development of the situation.

For the present, the bourgeoisie and fascism remain solidly attached to each other. In spite of

everything, the solution by war in Abyssinia opens a road. But it is a road which can precipitate a catastrophe. This eventuality is not only not excluded but appears very probable.

Even Victory Fatal

Even on the supposition that Mussolini will carry through a victorious war and that this war will be very brief, from September to March, the results may be very disastrous for Italian imperialism. The slipping of the lira, already begun, will assume a dizzy pace. Even if the industries are worked to full capacity for the war, even if the peasant receives a hundred percent more for the sale of his products, the growing devaluation of the lira because of the growing inflation which will be necessary to cover the expenses of the war, will end by creating a situation which will come very near to that in Italy in 1919-20 and that in Germany in 1923. The wages of the workers, the salaries of the employees, fearfully reduced by thirteen years of fascism will be utterly incapable of meeting the feverish rise in prices (although war operations have not yet begun, the prices of fruits and vegetables have already risen 100 percent). The peasant also, in exchange for his products, will receive money which depreciates from day to day. And then, in order to pillage the Abyssinian territories, it will be necessary to impose draconian measures on the entire nation so that speculation, which is protected by fascism and even nourished by it, will not fail to garner its profits. The famous queues known in the last war will form again before the stores. Strikes will reappear. They are already reappearing.

But the war will neither be short nor very easy. Abyssinia, which defeated the troops of Crispi, will not fail to offer a very hardy resistance to Mussolini's troops. The difficulties Italy will face in fighting Ethiopia are enormous if one considers that it will take place in a territory where the Abyssinian mule is the best means of conveyance. Therefore, it can be foreseen that the economic, financial, political and social repercussions of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict will be a thousand times more serious and acute in the interior of Italy.

If one considers only the first reactions to the mobilizations of Mussolini, it is to be foreseen that the hostility of the people towards the bandit war in Abyssinia will become much greater when the operations begin.

Populace Panicky

The fascist press would have us believe that there is enthusiasm for war in Italy. Nothing could be further from the truth. Here is what a correspondent from Italy writes in an emigre periodical (Nuovo Avanti, July 13, 1935) on the state of mind of the masses in face of the war:

"Enthusiasm is conspicuous by its absence... while calls to service are confined to the centers of Italian mobilization, opposition to the war has not assumed in general the forms of rebellion except in isolated cases. In Forlì, for example (Mussolini's home town), the women attempted to prevent the departure of the reservists; there were also an important number of deserters, who were easily captured, and also some violent opposition to public force. In Cagliari (where Mussolini came in person to deliver a speech) a reservist committed suicide because he was refused permission to visit his sick wife. The barracks mutinied and it was necessary to use bombs and tear gas to quell the mutiny.

"Many desertions took place in South Tyrol, with attempts at assassination; but here," the correspondent notes, "there exists a strong Hitlerite movement, the kind that would come from this district, but must be analyzed from another standpoint.

"The reservists called to service, both officers and soldiers, showed the most obvious signs of rebellion when they were about to leave for Eastern Africa.

"A clear symptom in the new situation in the Italian army can be seen in the negligence in external formalities between officers and soldiers! A great disregard of discipline is rife among the volunteers. The chaotic composition of these corps, in which individuals of the most varying ages and the most diverse physical constitutions are thrown together, has made the antagonism between the army and militia very acute.

"The militia (fascist) has stirred up a lively resentment against itself in the population

Congress Passes Harmless Social Security Program

because of its undisciplined acts and its vandalism.

"Besides, a state of constant vigilance is being born. Rumors, often exaggerated, are current on the sanitary conditions among the troops in Africa. No one believes the official reports. Though in fact, the latter proclaim human losses from unimportant ailments as true.

"This state of mind agitates the fascist regime, which is seeking by every means to stifle news and rumors. They have banned all publicity to mourning caused by the Abyssinian adventure. In Turin, for example, they forced a merchant to remove a notice carrying the legend: 'Closed because of sons in Abyssinia.' The communications of death are now laconic and read as follows: 'It has been communicated that your son (or husband, etc.) is deceased...' In a note there is a warning not to give publicity to the news."

If fascism fears publicity of a few deaths from sickness in Africa, what will it do when the list of dead stretches out once the operations begin? For we are inclined to believe that the Abyssinians are also good shots. They have demonstrated that very well in 1896 in Adowa. In the wars conducted by "democracies," the so-called "free press" had this advantage over fascism: it could deceive its readers who believed even in its lies. The fascist press is "suspect": the people do not read it and do not believe it. This is an enormous disadvantage for fascism in a war. A dispatch made with the aim of quieting the populace gives rise to vigilance and agitation. This is very significant for the application of the attitude prevalent among the Italian masses; an attitude of distrust which will end with violent explosions. In the degree that this state of mind tends to become general and active, it can transform itself into a truly revolutionary spirit. The strength of fascism arose especially from the inertia of the masses pulverized by violence and terror. Fascism, by the war in Abyssinia, itself is about to give the masses the opportunity lost for years of communicating among themselves and of feeling and wanting the same thing at the same time: the fall of the regime.

A Vanguard Needed!

What is lacking to prepare, to orient, to guide the masses seeking another road than the bellicose solution of fascism and capitalism, their road, a revolutionary road, is an organized vanguard.

The party of the proletariat, the Communist party constituted at Livorno in 1921, has been reduced to complete impotence under the blows of the fascist reaction and Stalinism. The Socialist Party, the old party of Turati, has been reduced, in emigration circles, to a fragmentary carcass. In the emigration circles the fragments of both the Italian Stalinist and Socialist parties have constituted, as a reflection of what is happening in France, a "pact of unity of action." But this "pact" remains without real importance for the masses in Italy. The lack of an organized vanguard, the political and organizational liquidation of the Communist party indubitably represents the weakest side of the Italian situation. On the other hand it cannot be separated from the international situation.

The task of the Italian Marxists today is a double and a single one: the struggle for the constitution of the Italian and international party of proletarian revolution.

To aid the Italian masses defeat fascism we must throw all our forces in the balance for the defeat of Italian imperialism in Abyssinia. That depends on the Italian masses in the interior, on the active and conscious opposition which must be organized in the interior against the war, but it also depends on the cooperation of the international proletariat.

Without the victory of Hitler in Germany, Mussolini today would not have been able to embark on a war today. A working class policy, a revolutionary policy, today, in London, Paris and Moscow can be of tremendous assistance to the Italian masses in reforming its battalions of world revolution. But it would be futile to expect this cooperation from the two dead Internationals, the Second and the Third. We must appeal directly to the working class and we must do it only in the name of the Fourth International. Such action will open a way into the hearts of the Italian workers. It is not without significance that the only initiative in organizing the international boycott of imperialism and fascist Italy at the outbreak of war in Abyssinia has come from the Bolshevik-Leninists. The banner of Lenin today bears the name: the Fourth International.

(Continued from Page 1)

possibility of emasculation by the Supreme Court remains. Thirdly, the increased costs of production may always be passed on to the consumer. Fourthly, new machinery, more intensive methods of production to keep down the cost of social legislation for the employer, can and will be resorted to.

In any case the taxes will be comparatively small, 3 percent of the payroll for unemployment insurance and a maximum by January 1, 1940, of 3 percent for the old age pension system. The exchange of a few million dollars in social security benefits for a cut of billions of dollars in the wage bill is decidedly "good business." Let Ma Perkins, Eleanor Roosevelt and the rest of the social workers have a fling. Finally, as experience in other countries has conclusively demonstrated, it is always possible, as the capitalist crisis intensifies, to effect a cut in the munificent benefits due under these social insurance programs.

Perkins Waxing Eloquent

It is important to note the philosophy back of this legislation. It is based on the concept that the present "revival" in business, the upturn on the stock exchange etc. is the beginning of a real capitalist boom. In a feature article in the New York Times Frances Perkins states:

"The cost of social security will be comparatively small for some years to come. This was deliberately arranged by the committee for the President in order that the incidence of tax might be gradual, as business and workers will be paying this tax in the early years of recovery from depression and before the full prosperity level has been reached."

She becomes positively eloquent in painting the figure of the U. S. under liberal capitalism.

"The foundation has been laid. On it will be reared a structure, through the experience of the years to come, which will prove a haven for the nation's wage-earners in times of economic distress and when they become old and feeble. It will be a refuge also for widows and dependent children. In achieving such results it will likewise benefit all employers and investors by promoting and stabilizing mass purchasing power."

The intelligence displayed by economists, business men, workers and Congress in the passage of this legislation and "the intellectual courage and human insight of the President" have brought "a renewal of faith in the possibilities of life in this great nation as broad as a continent."

Of course, as per the formula of liberal capitalism, this prosperity is to be made "permanent and real" by achieving a balance of consumption and production by "the promotion and stabilization of mass purchasing power without which the present economic system cannot endure."

No Revival at All

The fatuous exponents of liberal capitalism continue to hold forth this hope and doubtless in many instances actually to believe it themselves, in spite of the real facts about the present "revival" of business, etc. as set forth, for example, in the statistics of the U. S. Dept. of Commerce itself. These indicate that there was an increase of about 5 billions in the national income for 1934 as compared with 1933 but when relief wages are eliminated the net share of labor in 1934 was only 64.2 as compared with 65.5 in 1933. This does not take account of the fact that prices during the period rose as fast or even faster than wages so that the real wages of labor have decreased.

According to the same report the dividend and business profits rose sharply from \$7,365,000,000 to \$8,103,000,000 between 1933 and 1934.

Wage earners in 1934 received only 52 percent of their 1929 income. Property owners received 61.4 percent and men in business for themselves 65.2 percent of their 1929 income. Thus all the indications are that both earned and unearned incomes above \$5,000 are going up and that incomes below \$5,000 are going down.

Nothing has taken place in these closing days of Congress to cause any change in the program of the masses of workers and farmers, namely, Fight against the Roosevelt wage-cutting program, against the entire WPA set-up, against fake social security, for substantial protection against the risks of sickness, accident, old age and unemployment, at the cost of employers and government. Above all, organization to achieve power and thus to end, before it inflicts still further misery upon the masses, a system whose most liberal and humanitarian exponents can do no better than the Roosevelt "social security" program.

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They plan to issue an edition of the SELECTED WORKS OF LEON TROTSKY, six volumes of which are scheduled for publication during 1935-36. The volumes as listed are: 1. The Third International After Lenin. 2. The Stalin School of Falsification. 3. The Revolution of 1905. 4. The Revolution of 1917. 5. Seven Years of World Politics. 6. Problems of the Chinese Revolution—II.

Also included in the publishing program are the selected writings of Franz Mehring and George Plekhanov, a volume on Marxism and Art and the Selected Correspondence of Lenin.

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Shame!

Through the Daily Worker we are informed that Litvinoff, representing the Soviet Union in the League of Nations' Council, voted for the resolution to dismember Ethiopia based on the 1906 robber treaty between Italy, Britain and France, "not because the Soviet Union approves of this treaty, but because the resolution contained a clause pledging Mussolini not to resort to force while the matter was pending, and thus set up an obstacle—no matter how small—to the fascist war plans."

And how is the world to know, we might ask, that the Soviet Union—or more correctly, the dominant Stalin regime—does not approve of this treaty? Where would be the place to proclaim this fact if not exactly where the last of the independent African republics pleaded its case? But that would not have been possible, says the Daily Worker because: "All Council resolutions have to be adopted unanimously." And so, the representative of the Workers' Fatherland joined with the imperialist brigands from the thieves kitchen at Geneva to offer Ethiopia the choice of assassination of suicide.

This closes the first chapter of the recent maneuvers for new imperialist conquests. It unfolded behind the scenes as well as at the front doors of the League of Nations characterized by Lenin as an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey. Mussolini replied with an emphatic NO to all the "generous" offers advanced by Litvinoff in his capacity as chairman of the Council. Now Mussolini is about to cast the die opening up the second chapter of actual warfare for the enslavement of Ethiopia.

Through the maneuvers making up this first chapter stands out most glaringly the shameful role played by Stalin's representative at Geneva, equalized only by the revolting hypocrisy of a MacDonald or a Henderson.

Litvinoff voted for the resolution based on the imperialist robber treaty at the Council meeting held in July. But did this resolution "set up an obstacle to the Fascist war plans?" Or was Stalin correct when he asserted that "if the League is even the tiniest bump somewhat to slow down the drive toward war and help peace then we are not against the League?" Obviously, history has again refuted Stalin. The League was not an obstacle and could not be an obstacle. On the contrary, decomposing, due to the impact of imperialist contradictions, the League furnishes today only a cover for the vile games of bourgeois diplomacy in search for military allies to prepare the new slaughter. Mussolini, adamant in pursuit of his prey, used the League to help break down the competitive resistance of Britain and France. Stalin's representative, covering himself with the glorious name of the workers' fatherland, became a partner to this deceitful game.

This action of Litvinoff is not a mere incident for history to note and pass on to the order of the day. It must be understood as one link in a whole chain of policies pursued by the present day leaders of the Soviet Union. And it is fraught with dangers and treachery. Naturally this system of politics can have nothing in common with the example of the first victorious proletarian revolution, that still lives in the memory of the masses. In Lenin's time no doubt could ever be possible of

the fact that the workers' republic and that alone championed the right of self-determination of small nations. Toward the brigands of imperialism the Soviet Union maintained an attitude of implacable hostility and it proclaimed this attitude in words and deeds.

Lenin had no objection to accepting potatoes and arms from the imperialist brigands when the Soviet Union was in need so long as this furthered the cause of the world revolution. In general there could be no objection to any endeavors of the Soviet government to utilize the antagonisms in the camp of the imperialists or even to make certain concessions of expediency. But the fundamental objective must remain the furthering of the proletarian revolution. For Stalinism this fundamental objective no longer exists. It has turned Lenin's formula into political solidarity with the brigands of imperialism.

From the very beginning of the chain of events that have characterized the Stalinist foreign policy of the Soviet Union we sounded the alarm. The reliance on pacts with the bourgeoisie and the entry into the League of Nations could only arouse false hopes in the working masses. New illusions of reformism replaced the revolutionary objectives and served only to disarm the proletariat. From that position there was only a short distance to the final approval of the national defense of French imperialism as expressed in the Franco-Soviet pact. Viewed in this light the actions of Litvinoff at Geneva with regard to the planned fascist plunder of Ethiopia become entirely clear. This action was in perfect harmony with the foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy which is also the actual leadership of the Comintern. From the position of revolutionary internationalism characteristic of Lenin's time has now emerged the servile social patriotism of Stalin.

Now the war danger is advancing with seven league boots. This remains the life and death question for the masses of the people everywhere. It is the crucial test for all groupings and tendencies within the working class. The empty chatter about the League of Nations being an obstacle to fascist war plans has been blasted to the skies. Only the application of revolutionary methods of struggle against war can be of real significance.

It is necessary to draw a line and draw it sharply. Between the treacherous policy of solidarity and unanimity with the League Council coupled with alliances for national defense on the one hand and the Marxist position on the other no compromise is possible. For Marxists the slogan remains: the enemy is in our own country. War is inherent in capitalism and the struggle against war is unthinkable without the struggle against one's own imperialism.

Of course the Soviet Union is threatened in this developing war situation. But it would be an idle dream to place any hopes for its defense on the diplomatic games at Geneva or on military alliances with bourgeois powers. At the first opportunity these powers will strike their own most favorable military alliances and turn with full fury upon the Soviet Union.

As war approaches we sound the alarm once again. We emphasize: There can be no compromise between the policy of national defense and the position of struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by revolutionary assault. The former can lead only to a repetition of the shameful betrayal of 1914. The real struggle against war must proceed in implacable antagonism to all these forms of social patriotism and against the purveyors of these bourgeois illusions, the Social Democrats and the Stalinists.

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They Have One Teacher

By HENRY THURMAN
"We have a uniform program for socialism, the strategy and tactics of the world revolution; one fortress, the Soviet Union; one world party, the Communist International; one teacher, the great Stalin. (Tremendous applause, demonstrations, cheers and singing.)" Chinese Representative at Seventh World Congress.

It is a strange batch of rookies that Stalin and Thorez have drafted to the service of their French allies; no less than Lenin, Marx and Engels are whipped into line under the tricolor to rally the communist proletariat in defense of Laval's brand of culture.

The world has long grown accustomed to seeing Jesus Christ's services borrowed for the endorsement, in turn, of Church politics, monarchy, democracy, pacifism, imperialism, socialism, and of late—anti-semitism; so we suppose that there should be nothing startling about a mere secular leader's being utilized for diverse strange purposes long after his death.

The Stalinist pundits solemnly assure us that Lenin made pacts with the imperialists, and therefore the present Franco-Soviet pact is

on the face of it a good Leninist maneuver. But Lenin specifically warned: there are pacts and pacts, and we are able to tell the difference between a principled compromise and a traitorous capitulation. "Today, when I hear our tactics in signing the Brest-Litovsk treaty assailed, for instance, by the Socialist Revolutionaries, or when I hear a remark such as that made by Comrade Lansbury in conversation with me: 'Our British trade union leaders say that if it is permissible for the Bolsheviks to compromise, then it is permissible for them also,' I usually reply first of all by giving a simple and 'popular' example:

"Imagine that your automobile is held up by armed bandits. You hand them over your money, passport, revolver, automobile. In return you are spared the pleasant company of the bandits. That is a compromise beyond all doubt. 'Do you give' 'I give' you money, firearms, automobile, 'so that you give' me the opportunity to depart in peace.' But it would be difficult to find a sane man who would declare such a compromise to be 'inadmissible on principle,' or would proclaim the compromiser an accomplice of the bandits (even though the bandits,

having got into the automobile, might use it and the firearms for new robberies). Our compromise with the bandits of German imperialism was such a compromise.

"But when the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in Russia, the Scheidemannists (and, to a large extent, the Kautskys) in Germany, Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler (let alone Renner and Co.) in Austria, the Renaudels and Longuet ad Co. in France, the Fabians, the 'Independents' and the 'Labourites' in England, in 1914-1920, entered into compromises with the bandits of their own bourgeoisie, and sometimes with those of the bourgeoisie of the allies, against the revolutionary proletariat of their own country, all these gentlemen acted as 'accomplices-in-banditry.' (Left-Wing Communism.)

But why waste our time on these outmoded instructors of the past, when they have been so adequately replaced as Wan Min bluntly points out in his speech proposing the liquidation of Soviet China and forming of a coalition government:

"We have a uniform program for socialism (in one country) . . .
"One fortress, the Soviet Union (repeatedly two, until the very hour of Wan Min's address!) . . .
"One teacher—STALIN!"

Rally Support For the Eight-Page
NEW MILITANT.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

The Comintern Goes Back to Kautsky

Stalinist 7th Congress Throws Overboard All the Teachings of Marx
and Lenin on the State and Internationalism

By JOHN WEST

In 1928, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International met to record the triumph of Stalin over the Marxist opposition, to consolidate the abandonment of internationalism, and to prepare for the utilization of the C. I. in the years ahead, more and more directly in the reactionary interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy and against the interests of the world proletariat. Seven long years of disaster have demonstrated in the laboratory of history the role of the C. I. under Stalin: the structure which once stood dynamically at the head of the revolutionary movement has become solidified as the organizer of defeat, the agent of betrayal.

When an instrument which the working class has forged in the heart of its struggles, to serve its needs, abandons its progressive function and turns against the class that formed it, the working class cannot merely cast it off as a snake casts off its old skin in the new spring. The instrument remains, and remains not as something dead and abandoned, but actively, as a weapon turned against its maker. Veiled with the glitter of former triumphs, it becomes a will-o'-the-wisp to turn aside great sections of the working class from the Marxist road, to confuse, blind, and sterilize them. Just so the Comintern. If it were merely dead, it could be forgotten. But it is not dead. It remains, with all its corrupting power still hidden to many by the coating of early glories, a tremendous obstacle on the path of the working class. The Seventh Congress meets, not to chant the death of the C. I., but in a desperate effort to patch up the rotting structure and thus to raise the barrier still higher across the path.

This is the real meaning of the Seventh Congress: it meets, not to organize victory, but to consolidate its position as an obstacle, to attempt to prepare the last stages of the sacrifice of the international working class to Stalinism.

The Flowers of Stalinism

It is, therefore, not surprising to note, in the reports of the Congress, the incredibly low political level of the "discussions." No effort whatever is made, or could be made, at serious political analysis. No opposition on any question is present. No criticism of the past—even such a past—is suggested, beyond mild scoldings about "sectarianism" or "over-zealousness" in the application of the C. I. line. Not one lesson is drawn from the world shaking events of the past seven years. Not one negative vote is recorded against the official resolutions. Any vitality still remaining in the delegates is devoted to 20-minute orations for the "great leader and teacher of the world proletariat" and frequent singing of the Internationale. But it must not be supposed that this takes away from the significance of the Congress. Rather does it make clear the significance. It is only in such a soil that the flowers of Stalinism can bloom.

The key to the significance of the present Congress can be given in three quotations from the proceedings:

(1) "The victory of socialism on a world scale in a brief historic period is assured if peace is maintained, thus making possible new victories of socialism in the U. S. S. R." (Pieck, quoted N. Y. Times, July 29.)

(2) ". . . Now the working masses are not choosing between the proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy but between bourgeois democracy and fascism" (Dimitroff, quoted Daily Worker, Aug. 15).

(3) "In the present situation how should the toiling masses of Czechoslovakia fight for peace against fascism? They must fight with all means at their disposal for the preservation and deepening of friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and the U. S. S. R., for the carrying into practice the mutual assistance pact between Czechoslovakia and the S. U." (Sverma, quoted Daily Worker, Aug. 19.)

The Poison Spreads

The political content of these quotations must be carefully understood. They are theoretical acknowledgments of progressive steps in the degeneration of the Comintern which have already been taken in practice. Launched on the tracks of "socialism in one country," the C. I. could not leave it at that. For the poisoning of one cardinal point of Marxian principle—in this case, revolutionary internationalism—meant that the poison would spread throughout the system. In the end no point can be left untainted. The abandonment of internationalism is not a minor "deviation" which can be merely "corrected." It is a repudiation of Marxism. And it involves successively the repudiation of every other cardinal principle of Marxism. These quotations mark major stages in the spread of the poison.

Quotation (1) states briefly the

theory of socialism in one country, the keystone of the arch of Stalinism. What follows? Peace must be preserved. What then follows? The sections of the C. I. must be converted into peace propaganda agencies each sacrificing the interests of its national proletariat to the construction of socialism in the S. U. What follows? The interests of the Chinese, German, Austrian, French . . . workers must be betrayed to Soviet nationalism. The cause of the proletariat will be advanced and the S. U. defended not, as Lenin demanded, by the overthrow of bourgeois states, by the drive of the international revolution, but by (a) "the independent construction of socialism in the S. U." along with (b) the preservation of the status quo throughout the rest of the world in order to permit this socialist construction. That means, the preservation of the bourgeois governments, in their present relationships, in power, for only such preservation can maintain peace. Not international revolution, but pacifism and diplomacy, the classic "balance of power" methods of bourgeois politics, will protect the S. U. and the construction of socialism.

The Inevitable Conclusions

Quotation (2) draws the correct conclusion: Granted the basic line of socialism in one country, which prevents international revolution, for the sake of maintaining the status quo, the choice of the proletariat in this era is not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism. Therefore, the working class is led

Democratic theory best stated by Kautsky. No question of principle can be more important: only by the clear and constant recognition of the class nature of the state, of the fact that the bourgeois state in every form is its mortal enemy and must be destroyed, can a revolutionary party sustain a correct strategy in the class struggle. Any watering down whatever of this principle means, necessarily, betrayal.

Two Sources of Degeneration

We can trace consequences of the C. I. degeneration on this point from two directions:

(1) "Defense of the democratic rights of the workers and toiling masses" is, under all circumstances, a correct revolutionary slogan; and leadership in such defense is an elementary duty of the revolutionary party. But how defend these rights, for example, when they are threatened by the oncoming of Fascism? The Marxist answers: They can be defended only by the offensive revolutionary struggle for workers' power, only by the class organization of the workers, the fighting proletarian united front, the building of the workers' militia, the overthrow of bourgeois rule.

For this correct slogan and the correct method of carrying into practice, the C. I. Congress substitutes—"The defense of bourgeois democracy against fascism" (cf. Pieck, "we defend parliamentarism and democracy against fascism" Daily Worker, July 27; Gorkitch, "Real united front work has recently begun (in Yugoslavia). Its aims must be to establish a united anti-fascist people's government

tee the victory of fascism, and the concomitant loss of actual democratic rights. The only defense of democratic rights in the present era is the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

Thus the C. I. doctrine can serve only to weaken, disarm, and deroute the proletariat, to prevent the real struggle against fascism.

2. The United Front is of course an indispensable tactic in the revolutionary struggle. But the United Front must be aggressive, militant, fighting, an instrument by which the revolutionary party gains leadership over the masses, joins the working masses in common action, with no sacrifice of program or principle. On occasion, the United Front can even include, as subordinate allies under working class leadership, sections of other classes. But the C. I., after sabotaging throughout the Third Period every kind of United Front, now reverses itself to sanction a United Front policy even more disastrous than no policy at all. "The proletarian United front and the anti-fascist People's Front are closely connected with each other by living dialectics," says Dimitroff, "and the development is from one to the other." This theme is repeated in 50 speeches at the Congress—e.g. Lenski: "The immediate perspective in Poland is the broadest People's Front becoming a decisive factor in the maturing revolutionary crisis. . . ."

What is this People's Front, which is to include "all anti-fascist elements"? It is the logical development of the C. I. conception of a proletarian United Front as carried out, for example, in France. The United Front is, for the C. I., to be purely negative and defensive in character—against war and fascism, in defense of—bourgeois democracy against fascism. The united front represents not a fighting structure for common struggle in action, but a capitulation to social-democratic reformism. Consequently it is only natural that the United Front can "broaden out" into a People's Front including Daladier and the others, whose "anti-fascist" character is shown in their rapid efforts to hide when ever they smell a fascist.

The "People's Government"

3. To complete the picture: The defense of democracy and the People's Front both, again quite logically, lead to—support of or entry into a "People's government" or a "united anti-fascist government." Upton Sinclair himself would feel at home at many of the sessions of the Seventh Congress. A government of the new Labor Party in the U. S.; affiliation with the British Labor Party in Great Britain (cf. speeches of Foster, Browder, Dutt, Pollitt); Florin "favors the slogan: Give us a government of the anti-fascist People's Front" (Daily Worker, Aug. 7); Gorkitch will support the Macek government; and Dimitroff, "great helmsman of the Comintern," sums up "the new realism": ". . . a renunciation of the formation or support of the government of the united front or People's Front would be impermissible pedantism." Dimitroff's dialectics go further. In fascist countries, "where a bourgeois-democratic revolution develops, a people's front government can become the government of a democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants." And the latter, no doubt, a workers' dictatorship, and so to socialism in two countries. And the whole process, mind you, by dialectic evolution, without the painful tasks of revolutionary class struggle.

What wonder, then, that we shall be asked to support the next imperialist war? Do not Dimitroff and the others prove to us that support of democratic France and England and Czechoslovakia is the high road to socialism?

And what wonder, then, that so often during the Congress there is mention of organic unity with the Social Democracy? Kautsky himself went no further from Lenin on the key question of the state, on the key slogan, "Class against class"; and it was here that there arose the dividing line that called for the formation of the new party and the new international—the Leninist International. The Seventh Congress turns back, back to Kautsky and his fellow renegades. There is no longer any real obstacle in basic principle to keep Social Democracy and Stalinism apart.

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New Signers for the Open Letter

Ed. Note: We print below the first additions to the signatories of the Open Letter to the World Proletariat, declaring for the Fourth International and giving their assent to the establishment of a Provisional Contact Committee which will facilitate this activity. The first letter is from the Cooperative Society of the Friends of the New Age, an independent French organization with strong influence in the trade unions and the Socialist Party. The second letter of adherence is signed by comrade Vereeken for the Internationalist Communist League (Trotskyist) in Belgium. This is likewise an independent group. As we go to press we are in receipt of a copy of "Spartacus," organ of this group, which contains extended comment as well as their signature to the Open Letter. We will reprint sections of their comment in a forthcoming issue.

Paris, July 29, 1935

Dear Comrade,
We have received your documents concerning the Fourth International and our reply follows.

We are indeed sorry that these documents came somewhat late, since our leading committees have been disorganized due to the vacation period and we fear that we will not be able to send you a motivated answer before a fortnight.

At any rate, we can say now that, for us, the question of the foundation of the Fourth International is inseparable from the question of the principles and the methods of the building of socialist economy as the first act of the revolution accomplished by the seizure of power.

Our opinion, formulated after exhaustive conferences, is that the defeats suffered by socialism and the Third International flow from the fact that the socialism of the Second or of the Third has not yet found the method of democratic realization of economic construction after the revolution.

We believe that new disasters are inevitable if this question is

not studied immediately. We can say to you today that although we are ready to adhere in the founding of the Fourth International, we would consider our adherence to be futile unless the problem which we have indicated is placed on the agenda immediately. We will submit our proposals on this subject. We deem it necessary to point this out to you and we beg you to make this known together with the fact that our publications are at the disposal of any of the groups which you may indicate.

Please receive, dear comrade, our fraternal greetings,
(signed) GEORGE VALOIS,
Administrative Secretary.

The following is the letter of comrade Vereeken in the name of his group on the subject of the Open Letter:

"To the I. S. of the I. C. L.: Received your document. An affirmative answer has been elaborated and is now being examined by the comrades of our organization. The reply will be sent and published in Spartacus."

(signed) G. VEREKEN.

to support of bourgeois democratic governments, if only these governments "promise" to support the "peace policy" of the S. U. In other words, abandonment of internationalism logically leads to abandonment of the Marxian theory of the state, which holds that the bourgeois state is under all circumstances the political instrument of the bourgeoisie and consequently on all occasions the irreconcilable enemy of the proletariat and its party.

But with things as they are, peace may not be preserved even at this price. Again, therefore, with iron logic, the necessary conclusion is drawn in quotation (3). To "carry into practice the mutual assistance pact between Czechoslovakia and the S. U." means precisely to support the bourgeois government of Czechoslovakia in war against Germany; and, since imperialist powers—notably Czechoslovakia's ally—France—will be involved in such a war, to support likewise French imperialism. Thus, abandonment of the Marxian theory of the state leads, just as inevitably as it led Social Democracy prior to the last war, to an abandonment of the Marxian position on war, to social-patriotism, and preparations for the betrayal of the proletariat of France and all other nations which happen to be, for their own purposes, in alliance with the S. U. to the war makers.

I wish in the remainder of this article to demonstrate further the extent to which the C. I. has abandoned the Marxist theory of the state and has accepted the Social-

which will support the Macek government if it takes the necessary firm steps against fascism." (Daily Worker, Aug. 14.) But this means, in effect, support of the class enemy—for a bourgeois democratic government is, like a fascist government, simply one form of bourgeois class dictatorship. To support the class enemy under any circumstances means always to weaken one's own forces, to disarm the proletariat both materially and ideologically. It means to do precisely what the Social Democracy did in Germany, where its support of the democratic Weimar government prepared the way for Hitler.

Bourgeois Democracy and Fascism
It is of course true that the question of what "kind" of bourgeois dictatorship—democratic or fascist—is not indifferent to the proletariat (as Pieck stated in his opening address). But what the proletariat is interested in keeping or gaining is not bourgeois democracy as against fascism, but certain of the rights which the proletariat still has under democracy and loses under fascism. However, the democratic rights themselves, when threatened by Fascism in the era of the decline of capitalism, can be kept only by a revolutionary struggle, only, that is, by the overthrow of bourgeois class rule in whatever form it appears, and the establishment of workers' rule. Bourgeois democracy, left to itself, "defended" by the proletariat, necessarily is transformed by finance-capital to fascism; and thus the defense of bourgeois democracy, far from protecting democratic rights, is the sure way to guaran-